

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 040775

FOR AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG FROM THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: FINAL PHASE TACTICS

REFS: (A) BELGRADE 1173; (B) BELGRADE 1214; (C) BELGRADE 1261

1. DEVELOPMENTS OF RECENT DAYS SUGGEST THAT YOU ARE NOW ENTERING THE CRITICAL CONCLUDING PHASE OF THE BELGRADE DISCUSSIONS. THIS PERIOD IS LIKELY TO BE CHARACTERIZED BY A RAPIDLY CHANGING TACTICAL SITUATION IN WHICH CERTAIN DECISIONS MAY HAVE TO BE MADE QUICKLY BY THE NEGOTIATORS ON THE SCENE. WE HAVE FOLLOWED YOUR REPORTING OF
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RECENT DAYS AND HAVE GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO YOUR VARIOUS RECOMMENDATIONS. THIS MESSAGE WILL PROVIDE YOU WITH OUR COMMENTS ON SOME OF THE ISSUES YOU HAVE RAISED. WHILE WE WILL OF COURSE LEAVE THE DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION TO YOU AS THE SENIOR UNITED STATES NEGOTIATOR IN BELGRADE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE CONTINUATION OF YOUR VERY USEFUL ONGOING ANALYSIS OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION WHICH IS

ENTERING A FAST MOVING STAGE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BE IN A POSITION TO REACT AS RAPIDLY AS NECESSARY TO PROVIDE YOU WITH ANY ADDITIONAL AUTHORITY WHICH YOU MAY REQUIRE.

2. OUR VIEWS ON SPECIFIC TACTICAL ISSUES RAISED IN RECENT MESSAGES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. FRENCH DRAFT: WE ARE DISTRESSED TO LEARN THAT THE FRENCH DELEGATION HAS INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS TO TABLE THEIR DRAFT. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT THESE PLANS CAN BE HEADED OFF, HOPEFULLY THROUGH SUCCESSFUL COMPROMISE ON A COMMON NATO PAPER. IF NECESSARY, YOUR TACTIC OF THREATENING TO TABLE THE US DRAFT COULD ALSO BE USEFUL, BUT IF THE FRENCH DO GO AHEAD, YOU SHOULD CONSIDER CAREFULLY WHETHER TABLING THE EXCLUSIVE US DRAFT WOULD IN FACT SUPPORT OUR INTEREST IN A SMOOTH CONCLUSION TO THE BELGRADE MEETING OR WHETHER BY SUGGESTING THAT THERE IS DISARRAY IN THE NATO CAUCUS AND BY SEEMING TO PRECLUDE COMPROMISE, IT WOULD DRIVE THE NNAS CLOSER TO THE SOVIET POSITION.

B. WESTERN DRAFT: DESPITE THE LONG DELAY, WE BELIEVE THERE WOULD NOW BE UTILITY IN TABLING A WESTERN DRAFT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE FIRST EFFORT SHOULD BE TO ACHIEVE AN ALL WESTERN COMPROMISE WITH THE FRENCH PAPER. FAILING THIS, AND EVEN THOUGH THE FRENCH DO
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MOVE AHEAD WITH THEIR OWN DRAFT, WE BELIEVE THAT TABLING A SEPARATE UNIFIED WESTERN (MINUS FRANCE) PAPER WOULD BE THE BEST MEANS OF DEMONSTRATING OPPOSITION TO THE APPROACH TAKEN IN THE SOVIET DRAFT. IF CAREFULLY DRAFTED, SUCH A WESTERN PAPER MIGHT ALSO ATTRACT SUBSTANTIAL NNA SUPPORT AND COULD HELP BLOCK SOVIET EFFORTS TO LURE THE NNA TO SUPPORT AN ANODYNE TEXT. WE WILL LEAVE TO YOU THE BEST MEANS OF PURSUING EFFORTS TO COMPOSE A COMMON WESTERN DRAFT. THE PAPER SHOULD, IN OUR VIEW, BE STRONGER THAN THE NNA PAPER, BUT IN ORDER TO GAIN NNA SUPPORT SHOULD NOT BE AS STRONG AS THE COMPOSITE PAPER WHICH YOU ORIGINALLY PUT TOGETHER.

C. NNA DRAFT: WE WERE INTRIGUED BY YOUR EARLIER PROPOSAL TO ACCEPT THE NNA DRAFT IN ITS ENTIRETY AS A FALLBACK POSITION BEFORE MOVING TO A SHORT, FACTUAL CONCLUDING TEXT. ONE ATTRACTIVE ASPECT OF SUCH A PLAN WOULD HAVE BEEN THAT BY FORECLOSING NEGOTIATION IT WOULD BLOCK ATTEMPTS TO FURTHER WEAKEN THE IMPLEMENTATION SECTIONS OF THE NNA PAPER. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS INABILITY TO CHANGE THE NNA TEXT IS TWO-EDGED. AS YOU POINT OUT IN BELGRADE 1173, THERE ARE PARTS OF THE CBMS

SECTION OF THE NNA DRAFT WHICH ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. OMISSIONS IN THE MOVEMENTS TEXT WOULD BE PREJUDICIAL TO ALLIED MILITARY READINESS IN EUROPE. MOST DIFFICULT WOULD BE THE PROPOSAL ON NAVAL MOVEMENTS AND MANEUVERS, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF WHICH COULD RESTRICT OPERATIONS OF OUR FLEETS AROUND THE WORLD. EVEN ASSUMING THAT THE SOVIETS REJECTED OUR OFFER, THE FACT THAT WE HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS

TO ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL IN PRINCIPLE COULD ENCOURAGE PROPONENTS TO PURSUE IT WITH EVEN MORE VIGOR AFTER CONCLUSION OF THE BELGRADE MEETING. THEREFORE, DESPITE THE CREATIVENESS OF THIS PROPOSAL, I MUST REQUEST THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES YOU NOT
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PURSUE IT AS SUCH AS A POSSIBLE WESTERN FALLBACK POSITION.

D. CONCLUDING STATEMENTS: WE STRONGLY AGREE WITH YOUR RECOMMENDATION THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE READY A COMMON ASSESSMENT OF THE FINAL PHASE TO BE USED IN DESCRIBING TO THE PUBLIC REASONS FOR A LESS THAN SATISFACTORY FINAL DOCUMENT. CAREFUL CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE MEANS OF UTILIZING THIS ASSESSMENT. FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT SUCH STATEMENTS COULD BEST BE INCORPORATED INTO THE CLOSING SPEECHES MADE BY HEADS OF DELEGATION DURING THE FINAL WEEK OF OPEN PLENARY. WE WILL WISH TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT ON THIS POINT SO THAT WE MAY MAKE THE BEST CONTRIBUTION FROM THE WASHINGTON END.

3. BELGRADE 1261 REPORTING ON FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE FRENCH DRAFT WAS RECEIVED AFTER THE ABOVE WAS DRAFTED. FOR THE REASONS MENTIONED ABOVE, WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A COMMON WESTERN PAPER, WHETHER BASED ON THE CAUCUS TEXT OR THE FRENCH DRAFT, CAN BE SUCCESSFUL. WE HOPE THAT A STRONG EFFORT CAN BE MADE AT NATO CAUCUS ON FEBRUARY 16 TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SUCH A COMMON TEXT

4. IF AGREEMENT ON A COMMON TEXT IS NOT POSSIBLE, WE CAN NOT CONCUR IN A STATEMENT OF US SUPPORT FOR THE ENTIRE NNA INITIATIVE. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE SECURITY INTERESTS INVOLVED IN THE CBM SECTION OF THIS PAPER ARE TOO CRITICAL FOR US EVEN TO INDICATE THE POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT TO THE IDEAS. IN THE
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SITUATION NOW DEVELOPING IN BELGRADE, WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT US SUPPORT FOR THE WEAKER HUMAN RIGHTS LANGUAGE IN THE NNA PAPER MIGHT BE INTERPRETED BY THE PUBLIC AS AN ABANDONMENT OF WHAT YOU HAVE ACHIEVED ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN BELGRADE.

5. WE AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT IF A COMMON NATO TEXT CANNOT BE AGREED, IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR YOU TO TABLE A US DRAFT. WE WOULD PREFER TO TABLE A DRAFT WHICH HAS THE BEST CHANCE OF RECEIVING BROAD SUPPORT AMONG OUR ALLIES AND THE NNA, AND BE RECEIVED FROM THE OUTSIDE IN THIS LIGHT, AND SUGGEST THEREFORE, THAT YOU TABLE THE NATO CAUCUS (BELGRADE 1216) AS A US PAPER. SINCE THIS TEXT HAS BEEN WORKED OUT IN COMMON WITH THE OTHER ALLIES, IT WOULD HAVE BROAD SUPPORT EVEN IF OTHER COUNTRIES DID NOT AGREE TO CO-SPONSOR IT.

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